

Madam Speaker, I come to talk about something that in my judgment can affect the economy, the national security, and each one of the citizens of this country, and even the freedom of the world in a very significant way. I would remind us that as we talk about economic challenges, we have to remember that we are talking about a \$700 billion bill today, and yet remember that two airplanes hitting two buildings cost this economy \$2 trillion. September 11 certainly was more than just an attack on the Trade Center.

But the fact is that it had a profound impact on our economy. And we need to understand that as we deal with the economic issues that plague this Nation, they have always been there. But so have issues of significant national security.

And so tonight I want to address this body on something that I have wanted to address it for a long time. Because I believe that a nuclear Iran represents one of the greatest threats to peace facing the human family.

So, Madam Speaker, let me begin first by saying that there are millions of innocent, freedom-loving citizens in Iran who are truly good and gentle people suffering under brutality and oppression. They long for true freedom and partnership with the international community. To them, I first want to say that America stands with you. To them I also want to say that we long to see you become a true democratic ally in the Middle East that rejects the ideology of jihadist terrorism and upholds the protection of the innocent and equal human dignity. America will do everything in our power to hasten the day when Iran and its proxies will no longer threaten the world with nuclear jihad, and when we will have the privilege of walking together, I pray, Madam Speaker, in the sunlight of human freedom.

And, Madam Speaker, almost exactly 3 years ago, I stood at this podium and called upon the United States to clearly define its position towards what is now the world's largest state sponsor of terrorism, the Islamic Republic of Iran is, in my judgment, the world's largest sponsor of state terrorism. And I called upon the IAEA to refer Iran to the Security Council at that time because I believed then, and I believe now, that Iran is systematically pursuing the development of nuclear weapons.

At that time, while Iranian President Ahmadinejad had made very clear his intentions to pursue nuclear capability, to eradicate the nation of Israel and to offer material support to Hezbollah and other nonstate terrorist actors, the nation of Iran had not yet been referred to the United Nations Security Council.

Since then, Iran has been the object of two U.N. American resolutions that ban trade and freeze assets of Iran's nuclear and related entities. Beginning from August, 2006, Iran has blatantly ignored deadlines established by the International Atomic Energy Agency, or IAEA, and refused to comply with repeated Security Council deadlines to cease its uranium enrichment.

Meanwhile, the lack of regard by the Government of Iran for innocent human life has continued to be horribly demonstrated in its own human rights violations that currently

plague the entire nation that are causing the Iranian people to suffer. Ahmadinejad's tyrannical regime continues its brutal suppression of dissension by routinely employing torture, executions, kidnappings and arbitrary arrests and detentions.

Despite claiming to desire peace, Iranian President Ahmadinejad has undermined every advancement toward peace and emerging democracy in the Middle East by actively supporting terrorist groups such as Hezbollah, Hamas, Shiite insurgents and militias in Iraq that are responsible for killing and maiming U.S. and Coalition forces and countless innocent citizens.

Iran, Madam Speaker, has now catalyzed a nuclear arms race in the Middle East. Previously there was only one nuclear aspirant in the Middle East. That was Iran. Now there are ten.

Now, Madam Speaker, the coincidence of jihadist terrorism and nuclear proliferation represents the greatest immediate threat to the peace of the human family in the world today. Iran, because of its ideology, represents a significant danger. The past 2 years have provided incontrovertible evidence of the conclusion reached in the March, 2006, "National Security Strategy" report. Let me quote it verbatim, Madam Speaker.

"The United States faces no greater threat to our future security from a single Nation than Iran."

Madam Speaker, let me for a moment speak to Iran's capacity to do this Nation harm. Iran's clandestine nuclear program has been in the works for nearly 20 years. As a member of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, Iran's radical regime has pursued a hidden nuclear program in flagrant violation of its treaty commitments and obligations. Their actions over the past 18 years are clearly directed toward building a nuclear weapons capability.

Today, Iran is enriching uranium with approximately 3,000 centrifuges operating at its Natanz uranium enrichment facility. Madam Speaker, a total of 3,000 centrifuges is the commonly accepted figure for a nuclear enrichment program that is past the experimental stage and that can be used as a platform for a full industrial scale program capable of churning out enough enriched uranium and materials for the building of dozens of nuclear weapons.

The Director of National Intelligence, Mike McConnell, concurred with Israeli intelligence reports earlier this year when he testified before the Senate Intelligence Committee. He stated that 3,000 centrifuges operating continuously would produce enough fissile material for a nuclear weapon in less than 2 years. In less than 2 years, Madam Speaker. Iranian leadership has now announced its intention of increasing its number of operational centrifuges from 3,000 to 9,000.

Moreover, Madam Speaker, Iran is now beginning to manufacture its own centrifuge, the IR-2, which improves on the advanced P-2 centrifuge used to build Pakistan's nuclear

arsenal and that are capable of producing enriched uranium two to three times faster than the older models. Iran says that it plans to move toward a large-scale uranium enrichment program that will ultimately involve 54,000 centrifuges.

Madam Speaker, a few days ago, in comments prepared for delivery to the IAEA board members, the European Union warned the world that ``Iran is nearing the ability to arm a nuclear warhead."

Iran's President says its activities are intended for domestic energy production only. Let's examine that for a moment. Iran already possesses a wealth of its own natural gas, and that is the ideal fuel for generating electricity. Here in the United States, for instance, we have largely mastered nuclear power plant technology, but natural gas is still the overwhelmingly preferred fuel for our own electric power plants.

So, Madam Speaker, how can the world believe that Iran is continuing enrichment of uranium for only peaceful purposes, when it would be far easier to utilize the wealth of natural gas it already has at its fingertips? It makes no sense whatsoever that Iran has gone to the expense of building a facility of 3,000 centrifuges to ostensibly enrich uranium for a nuclear power plant, when they could easily buy that fuel from Russia at a fraction of the cost. This is like building an entire factory to make a ham sandwich. And this is from an oil rich country that imports 40 percent of their gasoline, rather than building the refining capacity to refine it from their own oil.

Madam Speaker, if Iran's uranium enrichment program is only for producing legal power plant fuel, why have they hidden it for 18 years?

The IAEA had this to say: ``Iran is making an enormous investment in facilities to mine, process and enrich uranium, and it says it needs it to make it for its own reactor fuel because it cannot count on foreign supplies. But for at least the next decade, Iran will have at most one single nuclear power reactor. In addition, Iran does not have enough indigenous uranium resources to fuel even one reactor over its lifetime, though it has quite enough to make several nuclear bombs."

So we are being asked to believe that Iran is building uranium enrichment capacity to make fuel for reactors that do not exist from uranium Iran does not have.

Iran is also conducting covert research on the technological requirements to build and deliver a nuclear weapon, including explosive tests and the ability to modify its Shahab-3 ballistic missile to accommodate a nuclear payload.

The IAEA reports that Iran has already manufactured enough uranium hexafluoride to ultimately manufacture at least 20 nuclear bombs. Media reports suggest that Iran has built numerous underground facilities, including those at Natanz, and further it has been reported that Iran now has experimented with polonium.

Madam Speaker, polonium is a radioactive isotope with only one principal use, and that is to trigger a nuclear explosion.

All of this is incredibly disconcerting by itself. However, Madam Speaker, Iran is pursuing something even more ominous, something that should gain the immediate attention of every American and indeed every person in the civilized world.

There is now strong reason to believe that Iran is pursuing a nuclear high altitude electromagnetic pulse weapon, or an EMP capability. An EMP attack on America would consist of a nuclear blast detonated at high altitude which would instantly generate an electromagnetic pulse over our homeland with devastating effect.

Madam Speaker, I almost hesitate to lay out the grim scenario of a major electromagnetic pulse attack on our country, because it almost seems like science fiction and there is always the risk of being called an alarmist by those who cannot contemplate such a weapon in terrorist hands. But, Madam Speaker, I willingly take that risk, because I now have two little baby twins at home and I want to make sure that they and millions of the other children like them grow up and are able to walk in the sunlight of American freedom as I have. And, very simply, that may not happen if the Nation of Iran gains electromagnetic pulse weapons.

Madam Speaker, Dr. William Graham, White House science advisor under President Ronald Reagan and current chairman of the Commission to Assess the Threat to the United States from Electromagnetic Pulse Attack, has now testified twice before the Armed Services Committee, of which I am a member.

According to Dr. Graham, the electromagnetic pulse produced by weapons deployed with the intent to produce EMP have a high likelihood of damaging electrical power systems, electronics and information systems upon which American society depends. The effects on those critical infrastructures could qualify as catastrophic to the Nation, he says. While no one would die instantly, within days and weeks, the ultimate impact on this Nation would be far more devastating than a nuclear blast in an American city.

According to Dr. Graham, millions of people would begin dying within weeks. He says, "People in hospitals would be dying faster than that, because they depend on power to stay alive. But then it would go to water, food, civil authority and emergency services, and we would end up with a country with many, many people not surviving the event."

He goes on to say, "Most of the things we depend upon would be gone, and we would be literally depending upon our own assets and those we could reach by walking to them."

Then he was asked just how many Americans would die if Iran were to launch the EMP attack it appears to be preparing.

Now, Madam Speaker, Iran is still a ways off, but I believe they are moving in that direction, and I want to make that very clear. Dr. Graham gave a chilling reply to the

question. He said, ``I would have to say that 70 to 90 percent of the population would not be sustainable after this kind of attack."

Madam Speaker, could Ahmadinejad have been thinking about an EMP attack when he said "a world without America is conceivable."

Experts say that a determined adversary can achieve an EMP attack capability without having a high level of sophistication. For example, an adversary would not have to have a long-range missile capability to conduct an EMP attack against the United States. Such an attack could be launched from a freighter off the U.S. coast using a short- or medium-range missile to loft a nuclear warhead to high altitude. Terrorists sponsored by a rogue state could execute such an attack without even revealing the identity of the perpetrators.

Iran has practiced launching a mobile ballistic missile from a vessel in the Caspian Sea. Iran has also tested high-altitude explosions of the Shahab-3, a test mode consistent with EMP attack, and described the test as successful.

Madam Speaker, Iran military writings explicitly discuss a nuclear EMP attack that would gravely harm the United States.

According to Dr. Graham, Iran has also conducted a group of tests involving the Shahab-3 launches where they "detonated the warhead near apogee; not over the target area where the thing could eventually land, but at altitude." And Graham also asked the question, why would they do that? Then he proceeded to answer his own question by saying, "The only plausible explanation we can find is that the Iranians are figuring out how to launch a missile from a ship and get it up to altitude and then detonate it."

He said, "That is exactly what you would do if you had a nuclear weapon on a Scud or Shahab-3 or other missile and you wanted to explode it over the United States."

Madam Speaker, I have just described the exact profile of a high-altitude electromagnetic pulse weapon, and all Iran needs to activate such a weapon now is a nuclear warhead, which in this moment they are intensely pursuing.

In my opinion, Madam Speaker, an electromagnetic pulse weapon is the most dangerous asymmetric terrorist weapon in the world today, and unless we understand what we are up against and respond, the Nation of Iran is poised in just a few short years to gain such a weapon.

We must first prevent Iran from gaining nuclear weapons capability at all. We must also diligently develop a robust missile defense capability to deter and defend against such a cataclysmic danger.

The next critically important step is for us to finish the European missile defense site in Poland and the Czech Republic to defend Europe, our forward-deployed troops and the United States homeland from Iranian nuclear weapons.

Madam Speaker, as always, any credible threat is not only evaluated by the capacities that I have just explained, but whether the enemy also possesses the intent to inflict harm, and it is obvious to any reasonable observer that Iran is rapidly daily coming closer to gaining the capacity.

So let me now speak to Iran's will and intent. The despotic regime now governing Iran has been explicitly clear in its intention and desire to see the destruction of the United States and the Nation of Israel wiped off the face of the Earth. Iranian President Ahmadinejad has stated that a world without Israel and the United States is possible.

Earlier this year, Ahmadinejad took part in a military parade exhibiting troops, tanks, antiaircraft guns and the newly revealed Ghadr-1, Iran's newest long-range missile with a reported range of 1,800 kilometers, which is capable of reaching Israel and vital U.S. bases throughout the Persian Gulf region. The parade featured a litany of slogans calling for "death to America," and "death to Israel."

President Ahmadinejad said to America and to all the nations of the world really ultimately on Iranian television, ``And you, for your part, if you would like to have good relations with the Iranian nation in the future, recognize the Iranian nation's right, recognize the Iranian nation's greatness and bow down before the greatness of the Iranian nation and surrender. If you don't accept, the Iranian nation will later force you to bow down."

Ahmadinejad is just one really happy guy, Madam Speaker. But, unfortunately, he and those behind him are also unspeakably dangerous to the peace of the world. Do we trust such a man leading the world's most dangerous regime to have his finger on a button that could launch nuclear missiles targeting our children and families? And how do we intend to negotiate with a nuclear Iran, as Senator *Obama* has suggested, when their jihadist ideology considers Armageddon a good thing?

Ahmadinejad himself has also promised to share nuclear know-how with other Islamic nations "due to their need."

Madam Speaker, the Pentagon estimates that hundreds of U.S. and coalition soldiers have died, as many as three in four of our casualties in Iraq, as a result of Iran supplying terrorists in Iraq weapons such as highly sophisticated explosive form penetrators designed to destroy American armor and its vehicles. What possesses us to believe that they would not do the same with a nuclear weapons capability?

The 9/11 Commission warned in its final record that al Qaeda has tried to acquire or make nuclear weapons for at least 10 years. According to the commission, al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden's associates "thought their leader was intent on carrying out a Hiroshima." In 1988, bin Laden called it "a religious duty" for al Qaeda to acquire nuclear weapons.

Madam Speaker, if Iran gains nuclear capability, they will give it to terrorists the world over. No wonder the Nation of Israel is concerned. Ahmadinejad has said, ``Anybody who recognizes Israel will burn in the fire of the Islamic nation's fury."

He has consistently denied the existence of the Holocaust, calling it a myth or a fabrication.

He has repeatedly called for the destruction of the Jewish State and has also promised to "wipe out Israel in a sea of fire."

I am speaking to the intent. A 50-kiloton warhead on an Iranian Shahab-3 missile would only be 12 minutes from Israel. In less than 15 minutes Tel Aviv could be ashes. Israel would have only a 50/50 chance of knocking even just the first missile down.

Israel has very few options and no margin for error. Iran is currently ruled by a regime that thinks it is a will of God to annihilate the Jewish state. Any responsible Jewish leader understands that a terrorist state like Iran that desires to see Israel erased from existence must not be allowed to obtain or develop nuclear weapons capabilities.

For that reason, Israel has said it rejects to option to prevent Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons. A nuclear Iran is an existential threat to human peace and freedom everywhere, not just Israel. The world is derelict to place Israel in the untenable position of having to act unilaterally to protect themselves and humanity from the threat that a nuclear Iran would present to the entire civilized world.

Israel has been our truest friend and ally in the Middle East now for 60 years. During that entire time it has faced unthinkable threats from enemies who would desire to see its absolute annihilation.

Now, more than ever, the United States of America must stand with the Nation of Israel against the threat of a nuclear Iran and against those who would see our two nations and all those who love human freedom eradicated from the face of the Earth.

Let me just remind all of us that the very first purpose of human government is to protect its people. As a member of the Armed Services Committee and the Strategic Forces Subcommittee, I received many briefings regarding Iran's nuclear ambitions, and now more than ever before, I am absolutely convinced that Iran is a growing threat to the stability of the world and to humanity itself. The recent anniversary of that tragic, horrific day that we all remember as 9/11 should also remind every one of us that we face a jihadist ideology that motivates terrorists to kill their own children for the sake of being able to kill ours.

At the risk of sounding political, I, at the willing risk of sounding political, I am convinced that *Barack Obama* does not understand this mindset of terrorism. Terrorist organizations like Hezbollah, Hamas and the terrorist state of Iran have all openly

endorsed and supported *Barack Obama* for President because they understand that he does not understand.

Senator *Obama* has been quoted as saying, ``I don't agree with a missile defense system." He has suggested that we can cut the program by \$10 billion, but, apparently, he doesn't seem to realize that the entire missile defense budget of the United States is only \$9.6 billion. He also does not seem to understand the unspeakable danger of allowing this country to be vulnerable to nuclear weapons in the hands of jihadist terrorists.

Congressman *John Dingell* of this body, a supporter of *Barack Obama*, has said ``I don't take sides for or against Hezbollah, or for or against Israel." That kind of mindless, moral relativism, which deliberately ignores all truth and equates merciless terrorism with free nations defending themselves and their innocent citizens, is more dangerous to humanity than terrorism itself. It is proof that liberal Democrats like *Barack Obama* and *John Dingell* simply underestimate and misunderstand the enemy we face. They do not realize what the price to humanity, what it would be, if Islamist fascism, ideology, spreads unabated throughout the world. They do not understand the price it will exact from future generations.

As much as I sincerely believe we should pursue diplomacy, negotiations, sanctions, political pressures and everything short of military action to prevent Iran from becoming a nuclear state, ultimately I believe only two things will prevent Iran from becoming a nuclear power. I believe that we need to consider this very carefully.

I believe that those two things are either a direct military intervention on the part of the United States or someone else or the conviction in the mind of the Iranian leadership that military intervention will occur if they continue to develop nuclear weapons capabilities. Our greatest hope to prevent war with Iran is to make sure their leaders understand that America will respond militarily before we allow them to threaten the world with nuclear weapons.

President Ronald Reagan gave an address in 1983, when the world faced a similar threat in the growing strength and nuclear ambition of the Soviet Union.

He said; ``I urge you to be beware the temptation to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil."

There were those in 1938 who would have deemed ambitions of Adolf Hitler and the Third Reich a giant misunderstanding. The free nations of the world once had opportunity to address the insidious rise of the Nazi ideology in its formative years when it could have been dispatched without great cost, but they delayed. The result was atomic bombs falling on cities and 50 million people dead worldwide, and the swastika shadow nearly plunging the planet into Cimmerian night.

I think it's time that the world's free people resolve once and for all, for the sake of our own children, and for the children of the world and for all generations, that we of this generation will not stand by and watch a similar dark chapter of history be repeated.

I actually believe that freedom will ultimately and beautifully prevail, but we must not rest until it does.